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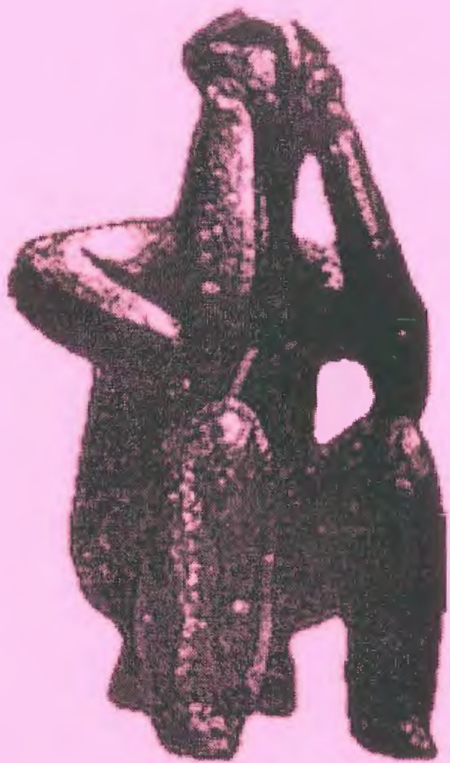
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Native Among Savages: Reading the Escape Narrative of Dudhnath Tewari

By Satadru Sen

On the 23rd of April, 1858, Dudhnath Tewari, a sepoy convicted by the British regime in India of mutiny and desertion and sentenced to hard labor in transportation, escaped from his guards in the Andaman Islands penal colony. Reappearing in the town of Port Blair a year later, he warned J.P. Walker, the superintendent of the prison, about an impending attack on the colony by Andamanese aborigines. He also reported to Walker about his year among the aborigines. The warning allowed Walker to organize an effective defense in the "Battle of Aberdeen" of May 1859. Tewari was rewarded with a pardon and briefly became a minor celebrity. (He has, logically enough, become a 'traitor' in Indian-nationalist narratives and recently been accused of contributing to Andamanese extinction.¹) What Tewari told Walker became the basis of an article, "Adopted in Andamans," which appeared in *Chambers's Journal* in 1860.² It remains a rare narrative about a "native" among "savages," often recycled for European consumption during a time when concretizing the distinctions between colonized populations was increasingly central to the organization of empire.

Located in the Bay of Bengal to the south of the Indian mainland, the Andamans were the largest and most complex prison in British India. There, administrators not only sought to punish and rehabilitate troublesome mainlanders, they also engaged in interconnected experiments in warfare, ethnology and photography involving the indigenous population.³ British engagement with the Andamanese proceeded alongside a parallel colonial encounter: that between aborigines and convicts from India and Burma. White Britons could not mediate whenever convict-settlers confronted aborigines demanding bananas, convict officers impregnated indigenous women at the Andaman Homes (institutions where aborigines were detained and occasionally put to work⁴), or runaways met the inhabitants of the jungle. Indians encountered the Andamanese in overlapping roles: as prisoners of the Raj, as sepoys, and as settlers in their own right. In each of these capacities, they approached aborigines with their own political and cultural lenses and their own agendas of power, interpretation and pleasure.

The lenses and agendas were only partially autonomous, because the niches that Indians occupied in the Andamans were all essentially colonial: they existed with (imperfect) reference to British demands on occupation, spatial distribution, political status and vocabulary. Nevertheless, non-whites in the islands did not approach each other exclusively as "Indians" or "Andamanese." Those categories were more consistently meaningful to Britons than to their subjects, who learned and revised their assigned identities in the process of their own experience.

Delinquent behavior (such as escape) and illicit knowledge informed shadow identities in which official categories of aboriginal/savage and native/criminal were not so much irrelevant as differently meaningful.

For Indians criminalized and punished by the colonial regime, Britons and British authority came with a familiarity that was both oppressive and reassuring. But the Andamanese also became familiar to them in the course of their punishment, and even unfamiliarity was charged with social and political possibilities. The savage personified the limits of British power. Convicts often feared the Andamanese, but they also looked to them for shelter from the punishing colony. Sepoys like Tewari were not "one" with the regime they served in most circumstances,⁵ and armed convicts in the islands existed at a double ideological remove from their white jailor-commanders. They fought for the regime and occasionally shared its priorities, but they also fought for themselves, and they fought their own savages, who often remained invisible or incredible to Britons.

The Andamanese themselves maneuvered between licit and illicit relationships with convicts, adopting contingent positions of alliance and animosity, intimacy and distance. They killed or captured runaways in exchange for rewards from the regime. They also appeared to distinguish between the agents and the victims of the penal colony, attacking the former and helping the latter. They were both discriminating and random, and this simultaneity – while not inconsistent with the normative 'treachery' of 'ignoble' savages⁶ – rendered them inscrutable and incoherent as a colonized population. Not surprisingly, Britons in the Andamans saw autonomous relations between convicts and aborigines as an ideological and political threat that had to be managed rhetorically when it could not be defeated. The article in *Chambers's Journal* should be read as one such exercise in political management.

"Adopted in Andamans" was not received without skepticism in its own time,⁷ but even M.V. Portman – the pre-eminent ethnologist-historian of the colonial Andamans – grudgingly acknowledged that Tewari was "not nearly such a liar as he was supposed to have been."⁸ Tewari's overlapping reputations as a hero, a liar, and a source were grounded not just in his status as an informant who saved the colony, but in what he did in the year when he went missing from the colony. He had gone where no Indian – or Briton, which was entirely significant – had apparently gone before. He is in some ways one of the first anthropologists of the Andamanese, but as Portman's half-amused, half-exasperated acceptance of the narrative indicates, he could not be accepted as such by contemporary Britons. He was ultimately a silly native who wanted a full-fledged wedding in the jungle; his observations were not ethnology but ethnological data, once they had been prodded with leading questions and filtered by editors.⁹ In spite of (and because of) his willingness to compare

Andamanese and Bengali wives, he was himself an object of ethnology. He was, simultaneously, a myth and a monster authored by others. F.J. Mouat, one of the first Britons to study the Andamanese "scientifically," compared Tewari with Munchausen and remarked that it would be "amusing to see the offspring of the giant Brahmin and the tiny Mincopie."¹⁰ Partially anticipating Portman's belief that children of Andamanese mothers and convict fathers were 'interesting scientifically,'¹¹ Mouat's comment indicates that the pleasures and anxieties of freakish discovery could be located within the science of convict-aborigine encounters, reassuringly appropriated by fantasists and scientists.

Yet if we cut Mouat, Munchausen and Portman out of the picture, there is still something left of Tewari. Once with the Andamanese, Tewari dresses as they do, eats as they do, reproduces with them. At the same time, he retains an outsider's perspective that can be separated from British perspectives. He is not Portman, not Kurtz, not even Kim. He resembles the fictitious and autobiographical "beachcombers" who sought, and failed, to establish relations of reciprocity with island natives,¹¹ but he is himself a native. He is highly conscious that he has left the colony behind, and constantly compares the colony and the jungle. He notices not only that his Andamanese captors, like his British captors, deny him access to weapons, but also that, unlike Britons, they do not force him to work. He understands that a new social and categorical possibility has opened for him: like the jailors in Port Blair, the Andamanese see marriage as a way of stabilizing the disorderly,¹² but the women they offer Tewari are their own daughters; they seek to transform captivity into adoption by integrating him into their society more closely than Britons were willing to contemplate. He is not entirely resistant but neither is he absorbed: he calculates his political odds, gambles and wins. He forms his own ideas of what his British interrogators will want to hear, what will titillate them, what numbers will impress them. His convict self, with its convict eye – informed by British, north-Indian-Brahmin and Andamanese inputs – has a tenacious reality of its own, which sees and configures savagery and colonialism for its own purposes, and which compels British listeners and readers into acts of compensation.

Tewari was only one of many convicts who lived among the islanders in the Andamans. His story is the first, and most detailed, of a particular genre of texts from the islands: the "captivity narrative" (which is also an escape narrative) of the convict among savages. Nearly all such narratives are mediated through Britons: typically, convicts who had escaped into the jungle or been captured by aborigines would return and tell their tales for British administrators and storytellers to rephrase. The lack of unambiguous authorship allows us to glimpse how a given experience of savagery could serve multiple agendas simultaneously. Partial, temporary integrations of Indian escapees into the aboriginal world

might be seen as phenomena in which the edge of a society functioned as a resource, an experimental space, an instrument of power and, inevitably, a problem of colonial governance.

Escape narratives in the Andamans were informed by a broad set of jungle myths that permeated convict society. In the 1850s and 1860s, convicts insisted that Great Andaman was connected by land to India or Burma; Tewari and other escapees went through the motions of searching for a route that led through the jungle to a world beyond the colony. Some convicts informed each other, and ultimately their jailors, that a powerful king ruled a hidden kingdom on the other side of the wall of trees; others placed this kingdom in the Cocos Islands.¹³ Sometimes the kingdom was conflated with Burma; at other times it was a separate magnet for escapees who, having once been sepoys, declared that they wanted to "take up service" with the unseen king.¹⁴ Convicts thus had their own geography of the Andamans, with its own tracks in the jungle leading to destinations and historical outcomes that were distinct from the roads and sightlines of the British imagination. Paul Carter has observed, in the Australian context, that convicts borrowed their jailors' visions of inside/outside to construct their fantasies of escape, and that these apparently irrational fantasies (of roads to China or Botany Bay) engaged and subverted the logic of the penal colony.¹⁵ In the Andamans, administrators worried that the expanding network of roads was not under their control, and that convicts walked out of the colony and into the jungle using the colony's own tracks.¹⁶ When Britons sought to defeat the aborigines and assert some control over the fantasy of escape (they could hardly control the escapees themselves), they also sought to defeat this alternative jungle and its horizon.

The convicts understood that this parallel jungle made sense only when it was full of savages. These alternative savages were a metaphor not only of terror, but also of resistance. The internal chatter of convict society that seeped into the colonial archive is full of references to secret villages inhabited by mixed communities of aborigines, runaways and maroons.¹⁷ Henry Corbyn, who created the Andaman Home, heard about sick and exhausted escapees taken by angelic aborigines to a huge camp in the recesses of Great Andaman, to be fed, medically treated, and released.¹⁸ A returned escapee named Boorhana told Walker about two dozen Indian and Afghan pilgrims, rescued by the Andamanese from a Turkish lifeboat, living with aborigines on Rutland Island.¹⁹ Unable to dismiss the story, Walker professed his inability to react: he lacked the resources for a military operation that might recover the maroons. Decades after the incident, Portman sought to reassert a shaken order by declaring that the story was obviously false, and that the Andamanese had assured him retrospectively that they would have "massacred" any Indians in that

situation.²⁰ He conceded, however, that the Andamanese had occasionally sheltered runaways "for a very short time," and may have wanted to "make common cause" with them against the British.²¹

Walker's half-believing paralysis and Portman's fear of a "common cause" underline the value of the story to the convicts. Stories about Indians living amongst the Andamanese represent alternative social-racial orders that are within the geography of British colonialism and yet outside British authority. The mythical villages are experiments in which the premises and procedures have not been determined by Britons. The jungle is a transforming space: here, runaways pretend to be settlers, Indians fade contingently into the aboriginal world, mutineers become ethnologists.²² The Andamanese, imagined by Britons as indiscriminate killers and the scourge of the shipwrecked, make alarming appearances as rescuers and friends of Indians. Such discriminating savages, narrated by other discriminating natives, manipulate individual colonizers and subvert the values attached by the regime to race, savagery and experimentation.

Broadly speaking, British administrators as ideologically different as Walker and Portman were committed to a vision of permanent race-war in the Andamans. They believed that "the Andamanese" would inevitably clash with "the Indians," and that Britons must manage the conflict, aligning strategically with one group or the other. The major difference between Walker and Portman on this issue is that Walker tended to align himself with Indians and Portman with the Andamanese. Otherwise, they shared an administrative outlook derived not only from colonialism in India, with its emphasis on the management of mutually hostile social compartments,²³ but also from precarious oppositions between savagery, an inferior (inexpert, unenlightened, criminalized, non-white) civilization, and a dominant civilization that monopolized the ability to strategize. It did not dismiss cooperation between convicts and aborigines, but restricted that possibility to the tame worlds of the penal colony and the Andaman Homes. The jungle, from this perspective, was wild not only because it was unsupervised and antithetical to the possibility of natives of different stripes working peacefully together, but also because sometimes they did in fact work (and eat, sleep, and strategize) together and lose their stripes in the process.

The colonial government understood that it was powerless to pre-empt these irruptions, and sought to come to terms with them. Superintendent J.C. Haughton was instructed by the Home Department in 1860 that, "convicts who have...lived with the aborigines, may be made the means of opening a more friendly intercourse with them."²⁴ By taking this position, the regime impressed its own authority on processes – escape and return – that otherwise indicated its limitations. It insisted, in other words, on the prerogative of concession by conceding to savagery patches of space in

the jungle, and giving up considerable power to the convicts. The fragmentation of the savage in the jungle thus enabled the "friendly intercourse" between islanders and convicts that the Home Department chose to interpret as a sign of successful governance and Portman later associated with the ineptitude of colonial rule.

It is tempting, in the light of the evidence of "fellowship" in the jungle, to see convict-aboriginal relations as the solidarity of two colonized populations. It would not be a wild leap: Britons who sought to depoliticize the jungle (by insisting, for instance, that convicts obeyed aborigines only because the latter were terrifying) did so precisely because they saw a common cause. They knew that the Andamanese often appeared to liberate convicts working in the jungle, and that aborigines shot guards but so frequently spared chained prisoners that guards refused to wear badges or other signs of authority.²⁵ Nor would such solidarity be unique in the history of penal colonies established among aborigines.²⁶

Such possibilities must, however, be treated with skepticism in the Andamans. There was little consistency in the Andamanese treatment of convicts and guards, not least because the political distinction between convicts and guards was not always obvious in an environment where many guards were also convicts, and those in the vanguard of forest-clearing and settlement were also natives, prisoners and colonial subjects. Neither convicts nor their jailors had a fixed vision of the political identity of Indians in the islands, and aborigines could not be expected to read this identity predictably. Convicts contemplating escape could take nothing for granted.

Tewari's double escape and subsequent pardon generated a small flurry of episodes in which returned runaways told the Port Blair authorities about impending attacks by aboriginal armies. The story that Boorhana told Walker is very similar to Tewari's, except that the invasion force poised for "imminent" attack on Port Blair was given as five hundred canoes and a thousand aborigines.²⁷ The Andamanese may not have been able to "count beyond two,"²⁸ but that only indicated the importance of numbers to the political community of civilization, and convicts knew it. Just as the regime had an interest in constructing an ambiguously cannibalistic savage that would deter escape attempts, convicts discovered the savage as a military menace that might balance the power of the colony, generate political rewards and produce the pleasure of frightening the jailors. This was, in a sense, the cultivation of a particular mode of settler-colonial paranoia that could speak to (and manipulate) the anxieties of Britons like Walker, who behaved as if they stood between besieged colony and besieging jungle. The British retelling of Tewari's story might be seen as an attempt to reassert confidence and control in anxious circumstances.

Notes:

- ¹ Dilip Kumar Chakraborti, *The Great Andamanese: Struggling for Survival* (Calcutta: Seagull, 1990), iii-iv; T.N. Pandit, *The Sentinelese* (Calcutta: Seagull, 1990), 4
- ² "Adopted in Andaman," *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature*, no. 325, March 24, 1860, 177-9. On Tewari's return to the Andamans in 1866, see Edward Belcher, "Notes on the Andaman Islands," *Ethnological Society Transactions*, New Series 5 (1866).
- ³ Satadru Sen, *Disciplining Punishment: Colonialism and Convict Society in the Andaman Islands* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), *passim*; 'Savage Bodies, Civilized Pleasures: M.V. Portman and the Andamanese,' *American Ethnologist* 36 (2009): 364-379.
- ⁴ Satadru Sen, 'Policing the Savage: Segregation, Labor and State Medicine in the Andamans,' *Journal of Asian Studies* 58(1999): 753-773.
- ⁵ On sepooy politics, see Heather Streets, *Martial Races* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 18-51; Michael Fisher, *The First Indian Author in English* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 122-4, 132-6.
- ⁶ Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 132-58; Ronald Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 3
- ⁷ E.H. Man believed that Tewari had concocted portions of his story. See his "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 12 (1883): 139-40.
- ⁸ M.V. Portman, *A History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1899), 279.
- ⁹ "Doodnath...assured me that he could discover no trace of religious worship or the acknowledgment of any unseen power among them," one administrator noted. Home Department records, Government of India, National Archives, New Delhi (in subsequent references, HD records), March 27, 1863, 85
- ¹⁰ F.J. Mouat, *Adventures and Researches Among the Andaman Islanders* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1863), 299, 310. "Mincopie" was an early British term for the Andamanese.
- ¹¹ Report of the Superintendent of the Andaman Islands (RSAI), 1892-93, HD records.
- ¹² Rod Edmonds, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 63
- ¹³ Satadru Sen, "Rationing Sex: Female Convicts in the Andamans," *South Asia*, 30 (1999): 29-59.
- ¹⁴ Henry Corbyn, Narrative No. 2, HD Records, 1863.
- ¹⁵ Walker to Home Department, April 1858, HD Records, 1858.
- ¹⁶ Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 293-319
- ¹⁷ RSAI, 1882-83.
- ¹⁸ RSAI, 1859-60.
- ¹⁹ Corbyn, Narrative No. 3, HD records, 1864.
- ²⁰ RSAI, 1858-59.
- ²¹ Portman, 288.
- ²² *Ibid*, 294.
- ²³ RSAI, 1875-76.
- ²⁴ Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 113-59.
- ²⁵ Government of India to Haughton, January 3, 1860, HD records 1860, 436.
- ²⁶ Portman, 276-8.
- ²⁷ Alice Bullard, *Exile To Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 201-3.
- ²⁸ RSAI, 1858-59.
- ²⁹ Portman, 40; Maulana Jafar Thanessari, *Kalapani* (Delhi: Urdu Markaz, 1964), 64.

"ADOPTED IN ANDAMAN" CHAMBERS'S JOURNAL OF POPULAR LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ARTS. SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1860.

Some persons are born to be discoverers, and others have discoveries thrust upon them whether they will or no. Captain Cook was of the former class, and sepoy convict No. 270, otherwise Doodnath Tewarry, is of the latter. He has had an experience enjoyed by no man living—save the aborigines themselves—of becoming acquainted with Andaman society, and we propose purposes, without his permission, to make that experience public. The Andaman Islands—as that not very large segment of the human race called Everybody knows—are situated in the Bay of Bengal, and constitute an archipelago of two large islands and a great number of small ones, three or four of which latter have been used since the sepoy rebellion as convict depots. The Great Andaman Island, of about 140 miles long and 20 broad, is at no great distance from these; and the sepoys, under the mistaken impression that it forms a part of Bengal, or, at least, of Burmah, are perpetually swimming over to it, and (when they are lucky enough to be able to do so) swimming back again. The extreme thickness of the tree-jungles which cover nine-tenths of this island renders it almost impenetrable, they being composed of trees as straight as arrows, of from thirty to forty feet high, though their roots cannot expand much beyond one foot, and are found twisted together like so many coils of rope. The foliage is confined to the top of the trees, the trunks of which are leafless and branchless. The whole island is supposed to consist of uninterrupted hills of some 500 feet in height. There seems to be no grass whatever, and a great lack of water, there being no rivers, but only brooks, which in the rainy season are torrents, and in the summer are dry. There are no wild animals except rats, snakes, and very little pigs, unless we include the aborigines, all attempts to establish any sort of intercourse with whom have signally failed. We have had settlements—off and on—upon the Andaman Isles since 1791, but no man save Doodnath Tewarry, and one more, has ever yet escaped alive out of the hands of the islanders. The stations which we now hold at Ross Island, Chatham Island, and Viper Island, are the prisons of some 1000 sepoy convicts, who seem scarcely to dislike their locality less than the authorities themselves, notwithstanding that they risk life and limb, and often lose them in their mad attempts to escape. It is indeed a hideous place of exile, unbearable to Europeans, and hateful to almost every man who has ever experienced another climate. Nevertheless, the soil repays cultivation, and there are already luxuriant crops of cucumbers, spinach, and pumpkins. The Garjan, or wood-oil tree, is the staple timber of the archipelago, rising 100 feet high without a branch, and topped with splendid foliage. The wood of the jungle trees is very hard, so that the axe flies off them as from a stone; but they are luckily hollowed out by the white ants, and thereby afford opportunity for blasting. The convict-system is, as far as possible, made self-supporting, and the men buy stores with the wages of their labour; the intention is eventually to colonise the mainland (as the Great Andaman is called) to the south of Port Blair, the harbour, which is protected by Ross Island, much as Oban in Argyleshire is by the island of Kerrera; the distance between them being about 800 yards, which can, of course, be easily crossed by a good swimmer.

There are the strangest mixture of classes among these convicts. Among the[m] . . . is (or was) the pretender to the throne of Munipore, a poor, delicate wretch, half Bengali, half Assamese, who joined the Chittagong mutineers; a zamindar of Bulundhshuhur, who once paid a lack of rupees per annum to the government; and a deputy-Inspector of schools at Shahjehanpore. All are treated alike: all lose caste from the moment they touch the convict-ship, as they can get no water, save from the common pump, or from

the European guard; although in the settlement the poor creatures are permitted to keep up caste among themselves. One of these fanatics, going to deck-side of the transport, under pretence of sea-sickness, cast himself into the sea, and was drowned. In the eyes of the convicts, matters would not have been much better with him had he reached his destination; and on the first establishment of the colony, escapees to the mainland, or Great Andaman Island, were almost literally incessant. Some of these fugitives would reappear after a few hours, or even a day or two, and beseech to be taken back again, which of course was done; but after that period, it is evident from the following narration that they may be set down as dead. One fellow endeavoured to persuade the superintendent that he had been with the natives for a couple of days, but his account has many points of suspicion, and does not tally with that of Doodnath Tewarry, about which there can scarcely be any doubt. His report was forwarded to government by Doctor Walker himself, the superintendent of the Andaman Settlements; and the substance of it—for there are several portions of it unfit for publication anywhere except in a Blue-book—runs as follows.

Doodnath Tewarry, sepoy of the 14th regiment of native infantry, being convicted of mutiny and desertion, was sentenced by the commission at Jhelum to transportation for life, and labour in irons; and having been received into the penal settlement at Port Blair on the 8th of April 1858, escaped from Ross Island on the 23rd, and after a residence of one year and twenty-four days in the Andaman jungle, voluntarily returned to the convict station at Aberdeen near Port Blair, on the 17th of May 1859. He escaped with no fewer than ninety others upon rafts of felled trees, bound together with tent-ropes; Aga, a convict gangster, of limited geographical knowledge, having assured them that the opposite shore was within ten days' march of the capital of Burmah, under the rajah of which place it was their intention to take service. They reached the so-called mainland, and having penetrated the jungle a little, were joined on the second day by a large body of convicts, who had escaped at the same time from Phoenix Bay and Chatham Island. They were then counted by Aga, and found to be 130. For fourteen days they progressed with exceeding slowness through the jungle, knowing not even in what direction they moved. Sometimes their wanderings led them back to a place which they had passed days before. All the food and necessaries secretly prepared for this expedition had been lost in the passage of the channel. For eight days they had almost nothing (the narrator says absolutely nothing, which seems impossible) to eat; afterwards, those who could climb the tall branchless trees got a little of some pleasant fruit like the Indian Ber. Water was very scarce, and only found in the form of small springs oozing through the sides of hills. A few men had saved their axes, and with these the stems of a huge creeping cane were cut, and so some water obtained. Twelve of the party, through hunger and thirst, were left during this period to die. For thirteen days, they never came upon the aborigines, although they found their deserted sheds. On the fourteenth day, at noon, and about four miles deep in the jungle, they were surrounded by about 100 natives with bows and arrows. The convicts offered no resistance, but endeavoured to supplicate mercy by signs and attitudes, which were utterly disregarded. There were a great number of killed and wounded when Tewarry took flight into the dense jungle, with three bad arrow-wounds, on the eyebrow, the right shoulder, and the left elbow. Shoo Dull, another (Brahmin) convict, who was wounded in the back, fled with him, and together they got along a saltwater tidal creek to the seashore, where they were joined by a convict of the Kurmee caste, an hour afterwards.

They passed the night there, and in the morning were seen by a party of natives (a tribe

of some sixty men, women, and children), who were embarking in five canoes. The savages pursued them into the jungle, and firing killed Tewarry's two companions, and wounded himself. He assumed death, and was pulled out of his hiding-place by the leg; but on making supplication to them by joining his hands, they retreated a short distance and fired at him, wounding him in the left wrist and on the hip. He again assumed to be dead, and on their taking out the arrow from his hip, again besought them to spare him, which this time they did. They helped him into a boat, and put red earth, moistened with water, round his neck and nostrils, and over his body and wounds, a lighter coloured earth, and took him to a neighbouring island. This island is named Turmooglee, and Tewarry (being shewn a chart) opines it to be about eight miles from the south-west coast of what he now knows, by bitter experience, to be the Great Andaman Island, and not the Burmese peninsula. It is one of those called in the map the Labyrinth Islands. During the entire year he was away, Tewarry was always wandering about with this tribe, from island to island, or to the mainland, never staying in any one place. While he was with them, he wore no clothes whatever, shaved his head, and in all respects conformed to their customs, enjoying throughout the best of health, save for his wounds. Most of them healed in about a month, except the elbow-wound which was three months getting well. The aborigines never exacted services from him; but for a long time looked upon him with great suspicion, and to the last never permitted him, even in sport, to take up a bow and arrow; they always told him to sit down and be quiet, if he attempted it. When he had been among them some four months, Pooteah, one of the elder natives, made over to him as wives, his daughter Leepa (aged twenty), and a young woman of sixteen, called Jigah, the daughter of Heera. Before young ladies marry, they are considered to be common property among both married and single Andamen; but when they have husbands, they henceforth behave themselves with the greatest propriety; even widows are never known to smile upon the male sex again. Tewarry supposes that he saw about one quarter of the Great Andaman Island during his wanderings, and certainly as many as 15,000 natives in all. They generally live in the jungle bordering upon the sea-coast, for convenience of procuring fish, shell-fish, and fresh water, though some inhabit the banks of salt-water creeks in the interior. All penetrate it for pigs and fruits, but usually return to the coast at sunset. The whole population is migratory, moving in troops of thirty to three-hundred individuals, but are all one tribe, and use the same language and customs. The deaths were not so numerous as the births; from which circumstance, it may be supposed, that the population is increasing. They are not cannibals, nor do they eat uncooked animal food; but they have no idea of a Supreme Being, and go about entirely naked—their coats being only of paint. The trousseau of the Andaman brides is very inexpensive, and the marriage-service the reverse of ceremonious. No preliminary arrangements of any kind are made at all. If any of the seniors of the party think that a young man and a young woman should be united, he sends for them, and marries them himself; the consent of either party is never asked, nor does the wedding company—except when there are two wives—ever extend beyond these three. Doodnath Tewarry beheld five marriages, and they were all alike. Towards evening, the bride having painted her body in stripes with her fingers, smeared with red earth, moistened with turtle-oil, sits on leaves spread on the ground, by way of carpet or bed; while the bridegroom similarly painted, squats on his carpet of leaves, a few paces off. They thus sit silent an hour, when the person who unites them comes from his hut, takes the bridegroom by the hand, and leads him to the bride's carpet, and having seated him on it, without speaking, presents him with five or six iron-headed arrows, and then returns to his hut, leaving the newly married couple alone, who remain sitting on the carpet for several hours longer, in perfect silence, until it be quite dark, when they retire

to their private residence. In Tewarry's case, there was not even the ceremony of the arrows, but without a word being said upon the subject, he was seated by Pooteah, one fine evening, between Leepa and Heera, to whom the chief pointed with his hand and addressing the young man, observed, 'Jiree jog!' and left the spot immediately. They were not even painted (complains Tewarry), nor was the least fuss made about them whatever.

The women remain in the encampment cooking and making fishing-nets, while the men hunt pigs in the jungle; the former have often to go several miles for fresh water, which they carry in large bamboos—two at a time—from six to nine feet long, and weighing from 80 to 100 lbs.; all the interior partitions of the bamboo, save the last, having been destroyed by the introduction of a smaller stick. They also catch shellfish, and the fish that the receding tide leaves in the pools, with their hand-nets. The aborigines do not allow a particle of hair to remain on them, and the females, shave them cleanly and quickly, with a small chip of bottle-glass (the spoil probably from some shipwreck, or lucky raid upon the settlement), of the size of a bean, but as thin as the blade of a penknife; the piece of glass is struck sharply on the edge with a hard stone to chip it this finely. Red earth, mixed with turtle-oil, seems to be the Andaman panacea for all diseases. The whole body of both sexes is tattooed—except the head, neck, hands, feet, and the lower part of the abdomen—by being incised by small pieces of bottle glass; the operation is performed by women on children of eight or ten, during January, February, March, and April. These months are selected because they form the wild fruit season, wherein there is no necessity for the children to go into salt water after fish, which would render their tattoo-wounds painful. The operation is done by degrees, and takes two or three years to complete. White earth (like lime) is smeared over the wounds, which heal in three or four weeks. No colouring matter being inserted, the effect is to make them of a paler hue than the surrounding skin. The women rub the men with earth and water in the evening, to keep off the mosquitoes, but do not pay as much attention to their comforts generally, says Tewarry, as Bengalese wives. They carry their children in slings made of the inner bark of trees, and behind their backs. They cut the green leaves for bedding, and palm leaves for thatching the huts, with a sharp shell called Ota, with which also they sharpen their arrows. They occupy old huts, if they can; nor need we wonder, since four days is a long residence for these gentry in any spot, and hut-building is hard work for the ladies.

Doodnath Tewarry, judging by his own height, which is five feet nine and a half inches, conjectures the native males to be about five feet five inches, and the females five feet two inches; nor did he ever meet with any one so tall as himself. The men and women are so alike in feature, that from the face alone their sex cannot be determined; but they are both what would be considered in Hindustan (says the intelligent sepoy) exceedingly ugly. So healthy and strong are the females, that the day after childbirth they are able to accompany the troop on foot, as usual. The new-born babe is drenched in cold fresh water, and its wet body dried by the hand, heated over a fire, quickly and gently. Any woman who is suckling takes the child for a day or two, and feeds it. The child remains without any covering whatever, like the parents, unless it rains, when a few leaves are sewn, with rattan for thread, and placed around it. The reason of Tewarry's leaving Andaman society was that he might give information of an intended attack by the savages upon the convict station at Aberdeen. He did so—travelling with the attacking party along the sea-coast—and set Dr Walker on his guard but just in time; nor can we reasonably complain of our adventurer's behavior in doing so, although our wretch left

his beloved Leepa, it seems, in an interesting situation.

Doodnath Tewarry has doubtless had his reward, ere this, in a free pardon; and certainly we owe him something for one of the most curious and entertaining narrations that ever yet got into a Blue-book.

CONFERENCE REPORTS

"When Indians Play Indian" Symposium Report, by Ethan Schmidt

The symposium, held on the campus of Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Texas on November 6, 2009, focused on specific situations in which Native People consciously acceded to white cultural expectations of what constituted a "real Indian" for the sake of advancing their own objectives. Organized by Ronald McCoy (Oklahoma State University) and Ethan Schmidt (Texas Tech University), the symposium was a forum for papers that took exception to the previous scholarship that has looked at occasions when Native People "played Indian" as products of colonial domination and subjugation. Jointly sponsored by the Texas Tech Department of History, the Museum of Texas Tech University, and the Texas Tech Cross-Cultural Academic Advancement Center, the symposium brought together scholars in several academic disciplines, including History, Art History, Anthropology and Ethnic Studies.

Schmidt offered the first paper of the day, in which he argued that Native Americans who visited England on diplomatic errands during the seventeenth and (especially) the eighteenth centuries sought to satisfy the expectations of both the British government and the British public about "real Indian" character. They were well aware of British views, and knew that their ability to embody them could do much to further their purposes. He examined various Indian missions, including, for example, those of Joseph Brant, the Mohawk/Mahican delegation of 1709, and the so-called "Seven Cherokee Kings" of the 1730s.

McCoy brought the symposium into the nineteenth-century American West with a paper detailing his discovery that a war shirt labeled as belonging to the Sioux leader Red Cloud in a museum collection is really a prop that belonged to a Washington D.C. photographer. This was a consequence of a standard experience for delegations of Plains Indians who came to Washington D.C. to negotiate with the government (and were willing to do what they thought they had to do to bring the US government to the negotiating table): they made obligatory trips to photographers' studios, donned their Native Costumes (often times over the suits and ties they were wearing), and posed for photos of "real Indians." When staff of a museum found a picture of Red Cloud wearing a shirt that they decided to put on display, they assumed that it was his war shirt without further investigation. McCoy's painstaking detective work led him to identify many North American museum artifacts mistakenly labeled as authentically Native American, which had been authenticated many years ago entirely on the basis of photographic evidence. Jim Cloninger (Texas Tech University) followed with a fresh look at the Sand Creek Massacre in which he asserted that the Cheyenne and Arapaho thought they did everything within their power to meet the expectations of the territorial government of Colorado. In essence, the Indians believed that they were playing the role that the government wanted them to play, hoping that by doing so they could guarantee peace

and stability for their tribes. Ultimately and tragically, peace and stability did not result. Travis Nygard (University of Pittsburgh) followed with a presentation on the research that he and Pamela Simpson (Washington and Lee University) have conducted on corn palaces in the Midwest. At first glance, it might seem that the history of the grain palaces is only a story of stereotypes that celebrated unjust policies of cultural assimilation and physical displacement. Some of the imagery that adorned these buildings, as well as events that took place around them does indeed do this. Examining the history of these places from 1887, when the first of them was erected in Sioux City, Iowa, to the present day, Nygard and Simpson examined why Native American people voluntarily became involved with these institutions, and showed how the buildings also served as sites of empowerment.

Andrew Holman (Bridgewater State College) offered the next paper, which described the Cree and Ojibwa Hockey Tour of 1928. He argued that sportswriters created three different narratives to tell the story of the Cree-Ojibwa hockey games. First, the tour was cast as a clever exercise in modern enterprise. The natives (all of them apparently summer fishing guides in northern Ontario resorts) used new communications technology to sell their "products"—hockey, and northern tourism. A second narrative described ice hockey as an authentically indigenous game, a sport first played by northern Indians that was now being re-appropriated in this colorful tour. Finally, some sportswriters saw the tour as what some of the players must have believed it to be – a subversive self-parody; a northern, wintry version of blackface minstrelsy. In other words, the Cree-Ojibwa tour was a drama of racial mockery and power inversion. Kathrin Dodds (Texas Tech University) presented the final symposium paper, examining Native Americans in professional wrestling. She argued that whether they are portraying the stereotype of the "Noble Savage" or of the "Savage Indian," Native American performers are knowingly enacting the caricatured version of themselves as a means to entertain the non-native masses, as well as pursuing their own ends, financial or (in some cases) cultural.

Three projected participants were unable to attend the symposium, but their papers will still be included in the edited volume that will be published in 2011. These essays are: Peter Nabokov (UCLA), "Becoming and Embodying Big Snake: Case Study of a Pueblo-Plains Performer"; Cheryl Wells, (University of Wyoming) on the concept of "Indian Time"; and C. Richard King (Washington State University), "Playing with Play: Enactments of Indianness by Indigenous Peoples."

"Workshop on the History of Ethnology and Anthropology," Symposium Report by Han F. Vermeulen

Convened by Han F. Vermeulen (Halle) and Udo Mischek (Göttingen), this workshop was held at the biannual conference of the German Ethnological Society (DGV), held in Frankfurt am Main, September 30-October 3, 2009.

In the first session, on ethnology in Cologne and Vienna, Ingrid Kreide-Damani (Köln-Bonn) and Volker Harms (Tübingen) discussed ethnology and politics from the Weimar period to the post-World War II era. Kreide-Damani described a forthcoming edited volume that portrays Julius Lips, Martin Heydrich and the DGV against the shifting background of West and East German politics. Harms analyzed the work Lips did while he was teaching at Howard University in

Washington, DC, before he became professor at Leipzig in 1948, concentrating on his autobiographical-ethnographic novel, *Forschungsreise in die Dämmerung* (1950). Gottfried Schürholz and David Mihola discussed the Viennese Christoph Fürer-Haimendorf, who avoided political engagement in the late 1930s, doing fieldwork in India and making his career in London at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Anita Dick and Verena Loidl focussed on Walter Hirschberg, whose active political involvement aided his career in the Nazi period, but who was punished severely after the war, losing his permission to teach (1945-53); later, however, he became professor of ethnology and director of the ethnological institute in Vienna (1962-75).

In the second session, "Relationships between Ethnology and Anthropology in the Twentieth Century," Bernhard Streck (Leipzig) described the separation of cultural and biological anthropology, which has a long history and endures today, focusing on several research institutes and the ethnological museum in Leipzig. Katja Geisenhainer (Leipzig) examined the work of Otto Reche and Fritz Krause in Leipzig from 1927 to 1945. Reche combined ethnology and anthropology in one institute, taking a racist viewpoint, and instigated several physical anthropological expeditions that incorporated ethnography. Krause founded the DGV in 1929 with the objective of separating ethnology from anthropology, though few German ethnologists then disregarded physical anthropological questions. Uwe Wolfradt (Halle) discussed the structuralism Fritz Krause developed in the 1920s; unrelated to the structuralism developed in Leiden during this period, and preceding the work of Lévi-Strauss by two decades, Krause's *ethnologische Strukturlehre* built on the psychological theories of Bastian, Wundt and Felix Krueger and rejected the culture area approach of Graebner and Schmidt, as well as the evolutionism of Morgan and Frazer. Han Vermeulen focused on the relations between anthropology and ethnology from the eighteenth century onward, arguing that they developed in separate intellectual domains—those of anatomy and natural history versus cultural history and comparative linguistics, respectively—withstanding widespread ideas about associations of races and peoples.

The last session discussed "Classical Approaches in Antiquity and the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," including papers by Martin Henking (Munich) on Tacitus's ethnology of "Germania"; by Wolbert Smidt (Hamburg) on Kant as a theorist of pre-institutional ethnology and his appropriation by pro-colonial 19th century anthropologists; by Wilfried van Damme (Leiden/Gent) on Ernst Grosse and his 1889 plea for a global and multidisciplinary approach to the study of art and aesthetics; and by Florian Eisheuer (Berlin) on anti-Semitic strains in ethnology and the conception of the Jews as a "non-national nation" (*Scheinvolk*) in the work of G. Teich, W.F. Mühlmann (1943-44) and Leo Frobenius.

Members of the DGV-Work Group "Geschichte der Ethnologie/ History of Anthropology" plan further discussions of the diverse German tradition. There will be a website and two future meetings: in October 2010 in either Halle or Leipzig; and in October 2011 in Vienna at the next DGV conference. For information, contact vermeulen@eth.mpg.de.

CALLS FOR PAPERS

Cheiron: The International Society for the History of Behavioral and Social Sciences.
42nd Annual Meeting, June 24-27, 2010, LeMoyne College, Syracuse, NY

Papers, posters, symposia, or workshops may deal with any aspect of the history of the behavioral and social sciences or related historiographical and methodological issues. All submissions must satisfy length limitations listed below (references, tables, etc. may be appended), and must be received by 5pm CST on January 15, 2009. To facilitate blind review, please include a cover sheet indicating: title; author's name and affiliation; author's address and phone number; and audio/visual needs. Authors are encouraged to send submissions electronically as attachments (.doc or .rtf), although three printed copies of a submission may be mailed to the address below.

Papers: Submit a completed paper (7-8 double-spaced pages plus a short abstract), or a 700-800 word abstract plus short bibliography. Papers should be original, i.e., not previously presented at other conferences.

Posters: Submit a 300-400 word abstract.

Symposia: Submit a 250-300 word abstract describing the symposium as a whole, and a 500-700 word abstract plus short bibliography from each of the participants. A cover letter should include the names and institutional affiliations of each of the participants, which should not be revealed in the abstracts.

Workshops: Contact the program chair (gsullivan@ccccd.edu).

Student Travel Awards: Available to help defray travel expenses of students who present papers and posters. Please indicate if you are a student and wish to be considered for an award.

Electronic submissions: Jerry Sullivan at gsullivan@ccccd.edu. (N.B. gsullivan). Mailed submissions: Jerry Sullivan, Collin College, 2800 E. Spring Creek Parkway, Plano, TX 75074

The 15th Annual Conference of the Victorian Interdisciplinary Studies Association of the Western United States (Visawus) will be held in Honolulu, Hawaii, October 28-30.

Conference theme: Oceania and the East in the Victorian Imagination

The conference will focus on the complex relationships between the Victorians and the East, including India and China, Malay and the East Indies, Australia and New Zealand, and the South Sea Islands. This international conference will bring together specialists in Asian and Victorian art history, literature, gender studies, science, history, literature, politics, and biographical studies, among others, to explore how the Victorians perceived the East and how the Victorians were perceived in the East. We invite paper proposals on political, cultural, social, religious, artistic, scientific, economic, agrarian, and other aspects of this rich interaction.

Submissions: Deadline for abstracts to be emailed to Richard Fulton at fulton@HAWAII.EDU is March 19, 2010.

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N.B. Some of the references have been sent earlier, in June 2009. These have been replaced in this list by new versions. These references have been marked with *

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